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against the government, white men, or other Indians with whom the ethnographer was also friendly. Above all the ethnographer (as well as his wife) sought to adopt a permissive attitude toward the people. Censoriousness was definitely shunned and it was only after a high degree of familiarity and confidence had been attained that any attempt was made to enforce elementary hygiene by stopping indiscriminate spitting in the tent or floorless cabin. At about the same time some attitude had to be taken with reference to the problem of alcohol. In one or two episodes alcohol released so much aggression and nuisance in two men (aggression which tended to manifest itself toward the ethnographer), that drinking began to pose a serious problem. The ethnographer, therefore, informed his host that as far as he, the ethnographer, was concerned he would not join any more drinking parties that fall or winter. The host, Old Man, was somewhat chagrined and regretful for what had occurred but no further brewing was done for several weeks. It may be pointed out that this episode, except for instituting a brief period of strain, did not seriously impair rapport where this relationship had previously been established with individuals.

All field work was conducted in English and no interpreters were employed. The author, together with his wife and family of two children, ages two and four, lived first in Lower Post, the summer residence of the Kaska Indians, and then traveled with one group to its winter trapping area. Three months were spent in a winter settlement containing four Indian families.

Field procedure, as much as possible, followed the method of participant-observation. During the summer the author and his wife attended Indian dances and participated in many other cultural activities, including two potlatches, several gambling games, and a meat packing trip. In addition Indian camps were frequently visited and people were made welcome whenever they chose to visit the home of the ethnographer, which was located close to the hub of the trading post. In the winter, visiting was greatly increased because of the fact that all life was centered in a small settlement where interpersonal contacts were frequent. During this latter period the writer accompanied Indians hunting, fishing, and traveling. He also assisted them in a number of other cultural undertakings, like house building, toboggan construction, and trapping. Participant-observation obviously involved making notes of all ethnographically significant details which came to the writer's attention. Where observation presented problems, questions were noted and their answers sought by means of direct questioning.

Behavior manifested in the social interaction between the ethnographer, or the members of his family, and Indians was also carefully observed. Upon analysis these relationships proved to be revealing in instances of both positive and negative transferences noted in informants. An effort was also made to remain conscious of transferences established on the part of the ethnographer. To guard against bias these had to be taken into account when analyzing data derived from the objects of such relationships.

A "personality data sheet" (hereafter referred to as P-data sheet) was kept for those individuals with whom the ethnographer came into close and frequent interaction. The sheets consisted simply of dated verbatim or abstracted transcripts of remarks and conversations expressing attitudes, wishes, and complaints. Folktales brought out in casual con-

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626 157 hostility, but it also seems to spring from the individual's personal desire to be left alone; hence he respects another's privacy. Such attitudes, however, do not always inhibit gossip, which is derived from latent antagonism or which sometimes functions as a vehicle of social control.

681 626 The chief sanctions imposed by the Indian community include gossip, ostracism, and supernaturally derived insanity. Fine and arrest are the formal sanctions imposed by the white society. Gossip is the common result of failure to share grub and capital goods or control aggression, and also follows adultery. Since gossip is also an expression of interpersonal hostility, its functions are wider than social control. As might be expected, the dual uses of gossip succeed in complicating its utility as a means of social control. That is to say, people often use gossip more as a retaliatory device than as a sanction, and this in turn arouses antagonism in the wrongdoer even when it leads to a modification of behavior.

626 183 Ostracism is an ideal sanction which in practice tends to be avoided for fear of giving too direct offense to a defaulter. Nitla vouched for this ideal pattern when he said that an aggressive person, one who is "too much mean, swear, cranky," will be avoided by the people. "Nobody look after that kind of man. Everybody he don't want him." A man who becomes aggressive under alcohol may be quietly left out of a drinking party, although nobody would refuse an invitation to share his brew. On the other hand, if the offensive person appears on the scene of a beer drink, there is no way to prevent him from joining the group.

681 828 Insanity and deformity are supernaturally derived sanctions which are popularly feared to follow infractions of moiety exogamy and other forms of incest. Insanity is also believed to occur: "If you think about girl too much . . . If you want to play with girl too much."

626 156 697 Fines are feared not so much because they deprive one of wealth than because they involve appearance in court and expose the individual to questioning and public censure. Arrest is the most dreaded sanction, and this fear is reinforced by the frequently repeated story of one of River Joe's sons. Several years ago the youth was arrested on the complaint of a white man for a marital offense. Found guilty, he was sent to prison for one year. The incarceration is widely supposed to have affected him mentally, although other reports blame his subsequent break-down on a too intense interest in girls. At any rate, upon his release from prison, the young man showed psychotic reactions and once more had to be removed from the area for confinement. He is still a patient in a mental hospital near Vancouver. This incident is very much in the memory of the people and helps to confirm the strong fear of arrest. Nobody was jailed during the period of field work, one reason for this being the lack of jail facilities in Lower Post. In 1945, however, a jail was built in the town and the constable is reported to have promised that it would be readily used if necessity demanded. Imprisonment outside of the area is reserved for serious crimes involving sentences of a year or more.

68 [836] [738] Offenses against life and the person are rare. Premarital sexuality, especially when it occurs among sixteen and seventeen year olds, could be construed as a crime according to national law but tends to be ignored by the police (who would have difficulty securing evidence), and is not regarded as a serious offense by Indians. In the past, one or two girls at McDame Creek have been sent to reform school for pronounced sexual delinquency.

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present no unusual problems so far as the application of European and American derived explanatory concepts is concerned.[2]

Abnormal states. In this section attention will be directed to reactions arising as a result of the disorganization of the processes by which individuals normally adjust to reality. We will consider some processes of disorganization produced by alcohol and mental illness. A characteristic form of manic-like behavior occurs under conditions of alcoholic intoxication and may be superficially compared to running amok. The following examples are from field notes.

7:22:45 (Lower Post). An Indian woman had been drinking most of the night with white men. Early in the morning she rushed into the ethnographer's cabin, waking his family. Her hair was disheveled and emotionally she appeared to be in a state of intense agitation. She half fell, half threw herself on the floor alongside our bedding and began sobbing and moaning incoherently. Following attempts to comfort her, she finally quieted down and permitted herself to be led home. No sooner had a few clothes been taken off than she rushed out of the house in her petticoat and stockinged feet. Sobbing anew she rushed into the home of a nearby white man and, climbing into his bed, began to kiss and lie on top of him. The man tried to urge her out of the building but she would not be persuaded. Instead she began to plead, saying: "You want full blooded Injun? You like a full blood Injun? I like you." This began to annoy the white man who swore in anger and ordered her out of his home. At this point the woman reacted with even greater rage and began a stream of obscenity which provoked the man to try to push her out the open door. Once more the ethnographer and his wife sought to calm the woman and finally succeeded in bringing her home. All attempts to get her to bed were resisted. She was too agitated and disorganized to relax. Another white man came into the house and she began to demonstrate affection toward him, calling him "brother-in-law." With great tact this man escaped the situation and the woman was finally persuaded to go to bed. She now sought to send a message to a white trapper who could supply her with liquor. At the same time remorse and shame appeared in her behavior. She began to cry and told the ethnographer's wife not to bother with her, that she wasn't worth any attention. She also revealed how a white man had forced his way into her home the previous evening and insisted she take a few drinks. It was not long before her resistance to drinking had broken down. After this period of self-recrimination she fell asleep.

As the day progressed the distracted woman secured more liquor until she finally wound up in the restaurant where, becoming abusive, she had to be told to leave. For a long time she could not be found but in the evening a boy informed the ethnographer that she was sleeping under some willows in a downpour of rain. When discovered she was suffering from severe chills and complained of a painful headache. Otherwise she was quite subdued except for occasional moaning. After taking hot tea, soup, and aspirin she went to sleep.

8:14:45 (Lower Post). During playful sexual advances made by Edward Prince toward Peter Tom, the latter suddenly became angry, seized Edward, and in a few minutes was choking him in the crook of his arm. Peter called on Edward to surrender, while the latter sought to dig his fingers into his opponent's back. When Old Man and Mrs. Man pulled Peter off, the youth

[2] The conclusions Seligman drawn from Ashanti dreams and dream interpretation also largely apply to the Kaska data. Like Ashanti dreams, Kaska dreaming shows wish-fulfillment as well as conflict elements. In interpreting dreams, the Kaska (like the Ashanti and western psychoanalysis) often reject the manifest content, but do not generally attribute meanings that are opposite from the dream's manifest content. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (1927), 204.

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158 838 579 was trembling violently and sobbing. Mrs. Man finally succeeded in leading him a short distance away. Here the old lady (who was herself intoxicated) tried to comfort Peter, her grandson, and drew his head down on her lap. After a few minutes he calmed down somewhat and moved to rejoin the men. Edward began anew to make obscene and derogatory references about Peter. For a while the latter was content to reply in kind. Suddenly he sprang to his feet again, as did Edward. Each was ready to fight. Taunting one another they moved to level ground above the riverbank where Peter swung in rage but missed his opponent. Old Man and his wife pulled the two apart but Peter tore himself free from his grandmother and went off by himself sobbing and otherwise revealing intense agitation. His unsuppressed rage and hostility expressed themselves when he viciously struck at some willows with his clenched fist. In a little while he was again calm.

158 273 8:22:45 (Bridge). Drinking had been going on for about six hours. River Joe began to abuse Richard Day for sleeping with Irene Wiley (his brother's daughter) and for never giving her food or money. Richard did not reply, but River Joe called on his son-in-law, Louis Maza, telling the latter what was angering him. In an immediate outburst of rage Louis turned on Richard, but the latter quickly fled to Edward Prince's camp, Louis following. Meanwhile, expressing his anger to himself, River Joe began tearing down his niece's mosquito tent, carrying some of her blankets to his own camp. Irene stood off abusing her uncle, calling him "crazy old man" and "crazy dog." At the same time Louis was systematically demolishing Edward Prince's tent, from which all occupants had fled. Louis' rage was not yet abated and he once more set out to look for Richard, rushing into the ethnographer's camp and accusing the latter of harboring the youth Frustrated in his search, Louis now began to direct aggression toward his wife. When Mrs. Maza finally ran off with her classificatory sister, Irene, Louis began a frenzied search for her, lurching through the camp area in a drunken stupor. After he was unable to find her, he announced that he was going to shoot himself and fetched a rifle from his tent. The gun was torn from his grasp and emptied whereupon the wrought up man finally began to calm down.

158 273 579 9:13:45 (Old Kean's Place). Adele Kean had been drinking fruit wine for several hours. During this time she had manifested direct affection toward her husband's brother, John Kean, with whom she had been living for several months. After their guests had gone, she began to demonstrate violent behavior, smashing furniture and other objects in the cabin. In an effort to quiet her, John locked the girl in the building. This still more infuriated her. She removed her brother-in-law's high power rifle from its place on the wall and threatened to shot through the door and kill John. The latter rushed into the cabin and secured the gun. The couple now began to quarrel bitterly, Adele promising John that she would surely kill him on the following day. At this point Irene Wiley returned to the house and tried to quiet the distracted girl. Adele inexplicably directed her aggression toward Irene, and began to tear the latter's hair. In return Irene struck Adele in the face, causing the latter's nose to bleed. John had meanwhile awakened the ethnographer, asking him to stop the girls' fighting. When the ethnographer entered the room Adele lay on the bloody floor sobbing violently and complaining that Irene and John had hit her. With intense anguish she wailed over and over: "Ajya mama! Ajya mama!" In the bunk her child began to cry, but Adele paid no attention. Finally Paulette Donnelly came around and staunched the flow of blood. She then led Adele to the latter's bed where Adele continued to moan and call for her mother.

158 273 While all drinkers do not break down into such catastrophic emotional behavior, alcoholic intoxication has a noticeable effect in releasing emotionality—excitement, aggression,

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and grief. A number of older women are well known for the ease with which alcohol induces melancholy in them; they signify intoxication by beginning to sob for a deceased daughter or son and refuse to be comforted.

Inquiries regarding mental disease in the Kaska area brought reports of several cases in which individuals of both sexes were described as "going crazy." All of these cases follow a pattern of manic-like behavior involving indiscriminate aggression and violence. Mental disorder is ascribed to several causes, including moiety endogamy, family incest, excessive sexuality, and worry.

Mrs. May Wiley was described by Old Man as "a little crazy." "She always making trouble. She always trying to be better than anybody. Mean. She chop the house, she want to fight us. She talk outside. Harry Lang told me: 'Don't go out. Let her come in. We'll fix her.' She chopping outside [at this point Old Man showed the ethnographer a single ax slash on the doorframe of the house in which the latter was living]. She wouldn't go in. When she feel like to fight she always like that. She treat his own kid good but sometimes when she lick her kid. I don't know how many times she pound Irene." Mrs. Wiley died about two years after the incident of the chopping. At the time of her death "they say just kind of quiet; she never speak a word."

Another woman was described who had developed mental illness and killed her grandson. A week after the homicide she died. Her husband, Old Ajen (from whom Iron Creek on the Alaska Highway just below Lower Post is named), had also become "like John Kean; hollered, sang 'doctor,' and he try to kill his wife." He was finally hospitalized in Vancouver where he died. It was said that both husband and wife were Crow and had married despite the rule of exogamy. Mental disorder was ascribed to this offense. It is interesting to note that John Kean was also deemed "crazy" by both his father and his brother, Nitla. Both said that John's aggressive behavior should be reported to the police. Old Kean told the ethnographer that John had several times threatened to kill him.

Old Man identified the late Mrs. River Joe as "not all there," and referred to some of her questions as evidence in point. For example, she couldn't understand why the ethnographer was writing about Indians. On the occasion of a dance in a trader's store, she wanted to know why flour and sugar had to be stored in a dance place. Old Man said she had been "like that" for six years. About 1912, River Joe is reported to have exhibited manic behavior. He sang and cried wildly, went into other people's camps and tried to kill his wife, who had to hide in the bush for a week. He did not try to harm others. In a month he was improved. About two years ago, following his arrest, one of River Joe's sons was taken out of the Kaska area because of manifest mental disorder.

Without attempting to classify these symptoms, it may be pointed out that all but one of these cases of mental breakdown involve mature men and women and otherwise also conform to the manic-depressive syndrome.[11] About twenty years ago, according to Harry Lang, the Nelson Indians were visited by what appears to have been some kind of group

[11] Czaplicka has distinguished two forms of Arctic hysteria among the Siberian aborigines. The classical, compulsively imitative form of the disease, she points out, is common in young people, but the violent form occurs between thirty-five and fifty years of age. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia, A Study in Social Anthropology* (1914), 329-339.

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158 hysteria in which people for no known reason fled from their camps and sat in the snow. This may represent an outbreak of true Arctic hysteria with compulsive suggestibility.

Personality

157 125 Rorschach's Test was given to twenty-eight Kaska Indians. Although at first instructions were closely followed and each card was shown a second time, in order to perform the inquiry and to invoke further responses, it was soon discovered that two showings made the test too long and irksome for these people. Particularly children grew restless when required to sit through a detailed inquiry, while most adults showed little sign of becoming more at ease as time over the cards increased. The situation often grew so painful that it was necessary to beg the subjects to remain for a few more minutes. To overcome this difficulty, it was determined to conduct the inquiry simultaneously with the initial presentation of the cards. While this procedure in part upset the standardization under which the test was constructed and is commonly administered, it may be expected that the results obtained have not been seriously impaired. Of the twenty-eight protocols collected, thirteen are based on two showings of the cards, the inquiry here being conducted in accordance with standard procedure. In the case of girls and women, most of the tests were administered by the ethnographer's wife.

Rorschach records were obtained from fourteen adult males and five adult females. Nine children under sixteen years of age were tested, five boys and four girls. Although the number of cases is limited, in general the psychological homogeneity of the population is demonstrated.

157 The mean number of responses for the adult group is 22.16, the range being from three to ninety although only two individuals gave more than thirty-six responses. An important qualification to be added is the fact that slightly over fifty per cent of the subjects produced fewer than eighteen answers. The mean number of responses for the children's group is 15.5, the range being from six to twenty-nine.

The tabulation of responses according to location is shown in Table 12.

Table 12. Tabulation of Rorschach Responses According to Location

	Adult Mean (N=19)	Per Cent	Child Mean (N=9)	Per Cent
W	3.53	14	4	25
D	11.47	54	10	64
Dd	6.63	30	1.55	10
S	.53	2	.11	.7

An inspection of these figures reveals the adult manner of approach to be (*W*), *D*, *Dd S*!!!! while the child approach is *W*, *D*!, *Dd S*! In other words, among the adults as a whole we find a very high overemphasis of small detail responses with an underemphasis of whole answers, whereas in children a somewhat better balanced picture obtains.

In Table 13 is presented a tabulation of the responses according to determinants. The

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the white man's law and the regulative functions of government. Nitla's words demonstrate the connection between a desire for inviolable independence and the denial of external authority: "Injun nothing boss. He feed himself. He live on the meat. Nothing boss the Injun." Going on, he sought to point out the meaninglessness of authority which is not legitimized by a validated protective role. Game, Nitla said, is fed by Jesus, not by the government. Jesus "make this ground . . . He the boss for it. Well, He make white people, He make game, anything. Well, He boss to anything." The white man made nothing in the native's environment, hence he cannot properly assume authority.

In his ingroup relationships the Indian is also self-centered and nonauthoritarian. He does not seek authority in interpersonal relations, and others can scarcely tell him what to do—initiation of activity must come from within. Egocentricity thus leaves little room for patterns of leadership. Few people know how to direct others effectively and white men who try to originate action in social affairs, like dances or trading, meet with apathy and usually fail to realize their suggestions. In most cooperative enterprises, like berry picking or poling a boat, each participant selects his role with a minimum of direction. Within the Indian community, there is a consistent reluctance to give direction or, except in cases of manifest danger, as in adapting to the winter environment, even venture direct suggestion. "We do it this way," the Indian says when approached for help or advice, the implication being that the pupil may or may not follow the traditional pattern. There is little attempt to force adherence to habitual modes of procedure. Personal standards govern the manufacture of cultural products. For example, Hans Donnelly provoked considerable amusement when he constructed a doorway to his tent frame which only suited his own small dimensions, and built a toboggan that was also smaller than most of these vehicles. Although they may be extreme, these examples are not exceptional. Instead of cultural objects being manufactured in close accordance with traditional forms, we find toboggans lashed with insulated wire cable, and other cultural products utilizing scraps of material salvaged from the refuse dumps behind Watson Lake Airport. Any analysis of material products of behavior confirms the absence of formal patterns and indicates the readiness with which variations are developed.

Self-interest sometimes leads to selfishness, people generally showing little appreciation of values like self-sacrifice. When in danger a man tends to look out for himself or his immediate family. Old Man, going home from a dance at which there had been drinking, saw a car in town belonging to the Mounted Police but warned nobody of what was certainly a threatening state of affairs. On another occasion Dorothy Plover's sister warned her brother, who was intoxicated at a dance, that the provincial policeman was walking through Lower Post. The two young people fled without warning anyone else. Self-interest is revealed historically in the fact that once when a social ideology was adopted (under the leadership of a white man), one Indian at least clearly manifested a primary concern with personal gain. The Kaska Indian's preoccupation with his own welfare is even expressed in his complaint that the government does not help the Indians; in reality the center of reference is the speaker, who sees himself standing to benefit from any generous Indian policy.

In some cases egocentricity is overdeveloped to a point where it motivates deviant behavior. Such an individual neglects to project his desire for independence and personal

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freedom and tries to dominate others by authoritarian direction. This behavior imperils the individual's value of deference by earning him considerable disapproval and dislike. Authoritarianism, in the few Kaska individuals where it occurs, is too complex for analysis simply as a device for reinforcing self-interest and independence by controlling other people in much the same way as the normal personality seeks to control the natural environment. In addition, the dominant man in the society may be a particularly aggressive person who, contrary to social expectations, too freely releases hostility. Nevertheless, despite these ramifications men like John Kean, Peter Lang, and Harry Lang may have their deviance partly understood as following from a failure to project the desire for personal inviolability. Instead they attempt to carry over into social relationships egocentrically motivated demands for personal control.

From what has been said, it is apparent that egocentricity motivates the characteristic individualism of the Kaska Indians. Besides being expressed in the atomistic social structure, we find this note extended into the games which people play. Team organization is rudimentary in the popular stick game, teams being little more than a series of individuals playing together. Members bet against single persons on the opposite side and otherwise manifest little tendency to cohere as a group. It remains to be seen how competitive sports may someday become integrated into such a personality setting.

Egocentricity also finds expression in sex, sexual relations being unconsciously identified with successful hunting and sexual potency with feelings of general capacity and mastery. The evidence for the relationship of self-assertion to sex is indicated in the socially patterned interpretation of sexual dreams. Referring to a dream characterized by his son-in-law's sexual sadism toward a widow, Stella Wiley, Old Man said: "I look for Stella on ice all day—I mean animal." He explained, saying: "If you dream you play with girl and then hunt, you kill a [female] animal." In other words, on the day following the dream Old Man looked for game on the frozen river. The relationship of sex to self-assertion will be more extensively discussed below.[7]

Egocentricity in men and women. We have described the operation of egocentricity in behavior which seeks to maintain independence, self-interest, and responsibility. Attention will now be directed to the relative development of egocentricity in the sexes.

The ethnographic data have already revealed that some women show a tendency to emulate the roles of men and to anticipate unfavorably the state of motherhood; their behavior is expressive of masculine striving and suggests considerable self-assertion. Although in marriage women are generally content to permit husbands to originate important action and are prepared to offer a number of personal comforts which men do not reciprocate, married women still continue to seek opportunity for realizing their capacities through hunting and trapping. Widows show little immediate inclination to remarry but are often possessed of sufficient initiative and resourcefulness to support themselves independently. All these data express a considerable degree of feminine individualism and independence. They are evidence that, like men, women are also motivated by egocentric striving. A few feminine behaviors suggest less egocentricity for that sex. Women, in contrast to men, have

[7] See below, pp. 294-298. For the relationship of Old Man's failing capacities to dreams of sexual potency see the analysis of his personality below, p. 330.

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from childhood been trained for a serving role, and this renders them more passive. Within the family, women cooperate more freely. In these situations, therefore, they show a weaker motive of self-assertion and somewhat less self-interest. On the whole, we may conclude that egocentricity seems to be quite firmly patterned in the feminine personality but is sometimes modified by the demands of the woman's marital role.

Threat to egocentric goals. For the present we will limit discussion to threats occurring in the man's personality as a result of failure to realize his egocentric values. Threats to feminine egocentricity can be better understood when considered in relation to other motives. As long as the ego is able to withstand the stresses of living and unable to perceive any conscious conflict of egocentricity and incompatible motives, the Kaska Indian approaches life with confidence. Any interference with the maintenance of egocentric trends, through failure of the executive functions of the ego, is inevitably accompanied by threat and anxiety. In critical situations, when expression of the egocentric motivation is blocked, when independence or self-reliance have been overwhelmed or expect to meet defeat, we find a mustering of passive forms of mastery, such as reliance on luck, withdrawal from the field, procrastination, and hypochondriasis—defenses all, designed for the ego's protection against mounting anxiety, In a society which demands considerable personal exertion in the process of getting a living, in which there are few alternative economic roles to choose from, and in which dependency and passivity are anxiety provoking, we may expect old age and illness to be traumatic phenomena, particularly in men.[8] Hypochondriasis is a common feature of the adult male personality and represents a common type of defense against situations in which the ego feels unable to achieve goals of independence and responsibility. Preoccupation with symptoms as an excuse for achievement, therefore, in part represents a passive withdrawal from the field of struggle. Its appearance occurs mainly in mature men, like Louis Maza and Old Man, but is already begun to be shown by a young married man like Hans Donnelly. Such men are expected to bear the brunt of economic responsibility but exhibit ego tonicity insufficient to support their socially patterned role.

Expression in the Rorschach test situation. We have already alluded to the form answers as related to one aspect of this motivation—self-esteem. Other criteria, applying partially to egocentricity are, those measuring the introversive trends of the personality. Klopfer and Kelley have defined the introvert as "predominantly motivated from within."[9] and this is the general significance of the term as employed by Rorschach workers. If we limit introversion, as measured by the Rorschach technique, to denote the responsiveness of the individual to his own values and ideals (in contrast to extraversion, in which the values are in the environment) we may assume that introversion expresses one important aspect of egocentricity.

Klopfer and Kelley have listed three criteria for determining the relative degrees of introversion and extraversion of Rorschach subjects. These are, the ratio of the number of human responses to the sum of all color answers (M:sum C); the ratio of animal plus inanimate movement to shading, texture, and achromatic color responses ($FM+m$):($Fc+c+C'$) and,

[8] This generalization is well illustrated in the case of Old Man, who, during the past few years, has been coming to feel the limitations imposed on his physical powers by advancing years and failing eyesight. See the analysis of his personality below.

[9] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 221.

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159 bilities, the data show Old Man's unconscious hostility and his subjective relationship to the ethnographer.

Early in June, before rapport was firmly reestablished, Old Man showed a tendency to deny anxiety by passive dependent attitudes. "I had good rest last winter. My leg bother me and Harry Lang never let me go out." Harry, he said, did most of the trapping. Despite this assistance, Old Man admitted being "broke" except for what money his wife had earned and on which the family would live during the summer. He denied worrying.

159 787 Five weeks later there was a dream in which Old Man assisted a girl to give birth by pressing down on her abdomen. He pressed lightly for fear of injuring the girl. Soon he heard a wailing and somebody said "Baby born!" In the morning Old Man told his wife: "Maybe you're going to have baby." She denied this, saying she was too old. Asked what the dream meant, Old Man replied that a baby would be born sometime (but not soon) and that it would be difficult to deliver. Such a dream can be interpreted as a desire to have a child. Children, as we have pointed out, are regarded as of economic value. The dream reminds Old Man that if he had a boy old enough to hunt, he might be able to retire with less anxiety. The dream also suggests a realization of failing sexual powers. The subject's own interpretation indicates his awareness that all of the dream's wishes are far-fetched.

159 ●[158] As the summer went on, Old Man began to drink compulsively, using three hundred dollars of his wife's money to pay for liquor. Such behavior can be regarded as a manifestation of passive trends. On August 3 he complained of his eyesight and spoke of the big money he had earned while working on Watson Lake Airport. The next day he stated that, although he used to be a good moose hunter, his eyes now hindered such activities. The previous fall he had been lucky to get a moose by shooting without being able to see the sights of his gun. Another time he had gone hunting with his wife and shot into a herd of caribou, managing to bring down ten. He said he wanted to buy glasses and wondered if the ethnographer could lend him some money. On August 12 there was an anxiety dream characterized by 159 hostile trends such as Old Man never directly reveals.

787 "Fellow—I don't know his name, I forget—got shot, wounded. A tall fellow, white man. Hardly he live. He got shot in here [points to chest]. My partner [mentions the name of Marie Nolan's white husband] say: 'Here, Old Man, this is white man way. We don't want to see anything suffer. How about we finish his life?' I say: 'We got no gun.' He say: 'I gonna put eight inch nails on a pole. When the boy suffer I gonna turn it in here [points to back].' He hit the man here [points to back]. Nail go in his body. White man just fall down like that and he says: 'Good bye. . . .'"

The dream occurred while Old Man was away from home. There were no clear associations, but Old Man characterized the dream as "bad," explaining that he had been thinking about people drinking in Lower Post. Aggressive impulses, fulfilled by another person, and anxiety are the principal features of the dream in which the dreamer takes the passive role, reflecting the weakening of the ego capacities. The dream also reflects aggression toward the ethnographer, the tall white man whose name could not be recalled. The suggestion of active pederasty, represented by the nail boring into the victim's back, should also not be overlooked and probably points to the beginning of Old Man's homosexual transference to the ethnographer.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

tious. In this, therefore, Dorothy's personality reflects Tahltan influence. From her foster father the girl acquired the self-assertion which helped her, the family's eldest daughter, to assume many male roles and to fulfill them more adequately than her next youngest brother. It is also from her foster father that she derived the boastfulness which, for example, she scarcely attempted to conceal in speaking about her brother's and uncle's timidity.

The incentive to develop strong father ties came from the early emotional rejection of her mother. Such rejection is indicated in the story of being sent to live with her grandmother and aunt. The throat constriction, from which Dorothy suffered as a child, and the attendant eating difficulties may be symptoms related to this period of childhood. If the close connection between oral activities and the security associated with the mother's breast is assumed, the frustration of security seeking tendencies and the concomitant anxiety may well transfer to acts symbolic of this primary mother-child relationship. In a psychosomatic inability to swallow, the tense child may then be expressing the longing for a gratification which he has come to fear.[7] Dorothy's intense preoccupation with the grizzly bear, already identified as a parent symbol, is also significant in this respect.

Dorothy's promiscuity is of long standing. It serves as an expression of the egocentric component of her personality and is therefore a vehicle for masculine striving. The choice of very much older white men (the policeman, Lou Monroe, and the white man in Lower Post) for sex objects suggests that in these cases sexual relations provide an opportunity to act out the oedipal identification with her foster father; these men are father images, in whom Dorothy is forced to invest an unconscious dependence which is antithetical to her egocentric wishes. Whether she was really in love with the blonde soldier, or if her expression of fondness was conditioned by jealousy for the more popular Flower, is difficult to answer. From what we know of her self-centeredness, jealousy arising from being preferred to a rival could be a critical experience, because it would threaten her personal image, in which so much energy has been invested and through which she realizes her goal of resourcefulness. Her personality is not equipped to love. Her whole career demonstrates her capacity to use people for her own ends. Her marriages and liaisons with white men have been profitable, each attachment advancing her material status, contributing to her role. The fact that ideals of status progression, so well served by white men, were originally derived from her boastful and narcissistic Tahltan foster father is further evidence for the interpretation that Dorothy's compulsive sexual behavior is closely related to her oedipal situation.

Dorothy's behavior, therefore, can be understood in terms of strong egocentricity and correlated masculine striving derived from identification with her foster father. That this man happened to be Tahltan, and therefore distinguished in personality, is accidental, but served to give her personality a color different from that expected in her community. From him she learned to direct her egocentricity into very un-Kaska-like pretence and display. Narcissism became one of the defenses against emotional isolation and dependence. To realize her status ambition, however, she was compulsively forced into dependence on father images for her enduring relationships. In this way her affect hunger and dependency strivings found expression. The role she played was never wholly congenial. She constantly re-

[7] See Fenichel, The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis (1945), 129-136.